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ROBERT F. MURPHY

HEADHUNTER'S HERITAGE

social and economic change among the mundurucú indians

BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES, 1960

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preface

This book has three principal aims: to present a picture of the life of a South American Indian tribe as it is today; to analyze the processes through which this society has evolved to its present form; and to relate conclusions derived from the study to the general body of anthropological theory. 121

The material on which the work is based was gathered by my wife and me during a field investigation among the Mundurucú Indians of the Tapajós River in the State of Pará, Brazil. I originally became interested in South American Indians (and anthropology) as a student in Professor Charles Wagley's courses in Columbia College. Later, during graduate study at Columbia, the Mundurucú at-

121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves theory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rig- 128 idly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.

PREFACE

My teachers, and friends, Professors Julian Steward and Charles Wagley have imparted instruction, stimulation, and encouragement to me throughout the Mundurucú research, the writing of this book, and my anthropological training. My personal and intellectual debt to them has no bounds. My formulation of the Mundurucú data has also gained much from the fresh viewpoints and remarkably incisive comments of my colleague, Dr. David M. Schneider.

Brazilians make field work in Brazil a pleasure, and it is with happy reminiscences that I thank my many colleagues and friends in that country. Drs. Eduardo Galvão and Darcy Ribeiro did everything possible to facilitate my research, and I also benefited from their extensive knowledge of Brazilian Indians. The Brazilian Indian Protection Service extended transportation and hospitality at their Mundurucú post to my wife and me, and the Brazilian Air Force gave us transportation and even flew supplies in to us. On the Cururú River, the priests and nuns of the mission to the Mundurucú were unfailingly generous and sympathetic with our task.

Many prefaces to anthropological works tell of the noble wife who always smiled and never complained during the field trip. Such a statement, I feel, would belittle the intelligence of wife and reader alike. Let it simply be said that Yolanda did not complain as much as was justified by the circumstances—or as much as I did. In addition to remarkable forbearance in the face of insects, occasional hunger, and total isolation, not to say dysentery, she also did excellent field work among the Mundurucú women. Much of the data in this book were collected by her, and I gratefully acknowledge this—and very much more.

Berkeley, March, 1959 R. F. M.

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KATIWAT, before you came to live with us, our lives were as always, and we were happy. We worked, we ate, and then we slept. When you came we were glad, for you brought us many fine gifts. And every night, instead of going to sleep, we sat with you, drank coffee, smoked your tobacco, and listened to your radio. But now you go, and we are sorry, for all of these things go with you. We now know pleasures to which we were unaccustomed, and we shall be unhappy.

The Chief of Cabruá upon our departure

glossary

Araiarai	the ceremony for the spirit mothers of game animals, which lasts an entire rainy season.
barracões	stores of traders
beijú	manioc flour "bread"
caboclo	neo-Brazilian, usually lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior
campineiro	Brazilian term for savannah-dweller
Dajearuparip	the shorter, ten-day ceremony for the spirit mothers of the game animals
diwat	"dwellers of the river"
farinha	a coarse flour made from bitter manioc
iboiwatitit	the clan that possesses burial rights over certain clans of the opposite moiety
karökö	the sacred musical instruments ("trumpets") kept in the men's house
karökö ejewot	spirit "companion" of the sacred musical instruments
Muchacha anyen	a society of learned and honored warriors
padrinho	godfather
pariwat	Mundurucú who live as Brazilians
patrões	patrons
regatões	itinerant merchants, in contrast to *patrões*, regular patrons
timbó	a generic term applied to many lianas and roots used for drugging fish
tipití	basketry press for grated manioc
tubö	ancestral clan spirit

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1

the setting

181 648 In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region.

182 648 Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by

182 648 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the situation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically [177] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists. 123

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and cultrue for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction. 121

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun- 177 182

THE SETTING

M 177 182 durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú M [439] society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

B M 182 563 177 The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo,* population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

B M 182 563 177

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

B M 177 182

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

M [128]

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

[Text continues on page 7]

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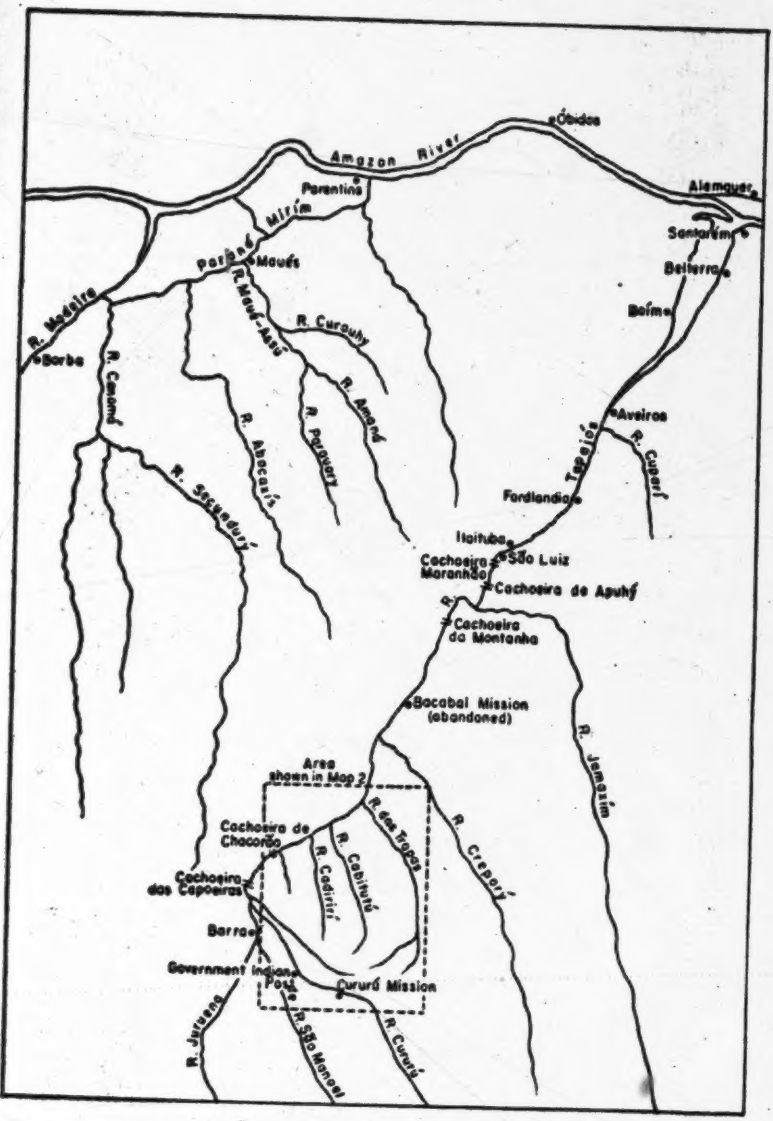
Óbidos
Amazon River
Parentins
Alemquer
Santarém
Belterra
Paraná Mirím
Maués
R. Maué-Assú
R. Madeira
Borba
R. Canumá
R. Curauhy
Boím
R. Amaná
R. Parauary
R. Abacaxís
R. Secunduri
Aveiros
Tapajós
R. Cuparí
Fordlandia
Itaituba
São Luiz
Cachoeira Maranhão
Cachoeira de Apuhy
Cachoeira da Montanha
Bacabal Mission (abandoned)
R. Jamanxim
Area shown in Map 2
R. das Tropas
R. Crepory
Cachoeira de Chacorão
R. Cabitutú
R. Cadiriri
Cachoeira das Capoeiras
Barra
Government Indian Poste
Cururú Mission
R. Juruena
R. São Manoel
R. Cururú

Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p.6]

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, 131
in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian- 197
speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has [101]
been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identifi- [114]
cation of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an auton- 101
omous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their 131
first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of 166
the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of 161
about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

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[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

THE SETTING

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance
648 in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and
[181] docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were
once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of at-
tacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought
retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter
the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the
whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recog-
nition of both superior force and the material advantages
to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mun-
durucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other
tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo-
[727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of
the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that
distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh-
[273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of
the common intoxicants of the region, although they are
now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced 171
after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [248]
craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [501]
Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-
phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61]
considerably more complex than most Tupian societies,
and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspond-
ingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [771]
outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but
there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mundurucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun- 174

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[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered
by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú
country are great stretches of savannah that continue into
the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for
unforested village locales could only have been acquired
in their present home or further south. The previously
mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although
I can at present offer no further corroboration of
this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland
131 as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between
the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the
1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along
the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on
the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[291] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn
themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs,
and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they
cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú
do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in
physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from
head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian
neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and
fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising,
as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú
live in single-house isolation and not in villages

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family 361
groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary
for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the 867
social units are too small for the effective transmission of
the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater 182
population density, and, therefore, more intensive interac- 184
tion with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation
of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and culture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers originally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply affected and altered by Brazilian society. But change has been the least among this population. A greater degree of political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the native social system persists, although it has been subjected to modifications. Society and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto de Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rug- 133
ged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between the streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

133 rivers rise there as small streams meandering through gallery forest. As they flow south, they increase greatly in volume, and their valleys cut deeper into the uplands, tumbling over waterfalls and dropping through strong rapids on their descent to sea level. The forest on either shore becomes vast and deep, but in the interior, the Planalto scenery continues, for the high country extends in long fingers between the rivers and reaches north in some places to the very shores of the Amazon. This is uninhabited, and largely unknown, terrain; its rivers are small, and delightfully cool and swift, and the landscape is characterized by open savannahs, flat hills, and fantastic rock formations.

The Tapajós River proper begins at approximately 7½° S lat. and is formed by the confluence of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. For about 300 miles below this point, it flows through a valley that is in places broad and flat—typical Amazonian scenery—but is more commonly hilly. There are numerous rapids in this stretch, but none so spectacular and dangerous, as the Cachoeira (Rapids) de Maranhão, at which point the river passes through a low range of hills and drops to about the same level as the Amazon. The Tapajós then continues, without further rapids north of this point another 150 miles to its confluence with the Amazon at the city of Santarém. This section of the river is by far the most beautiful. It gradually broadens to form a bay ten miles wide, bordered on either side by forested hills. Unlike most other rivers of the area, the Tapajós is blue and clear, and its lower reaches are lined in the low-water dry season by endless stretches of white sand beach.

131 The Mundurucú live in the area immediately north and east of the point where the Tapajós is created by the juncture of the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. For this reason, I will refer to their habitat as being on the "upper Tapajós,"

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira 131
de Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this
division follows local usage. The traditional location of [361]
their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from
the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This
is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several
minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters.
Topographically, this high savannah land is a continuation 133
of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward
through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós
at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this
point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of
the Secundurý and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon
flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland encompassed
by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long 133
dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazilians 361
alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The
villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and
some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open
country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small,
but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far
richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of
the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pronounced 132
wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley
proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in
frequency and intensity for the next three months. The
heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they
gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June.
The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be
seen from the following figures on average January and
July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During
1945–1951, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960

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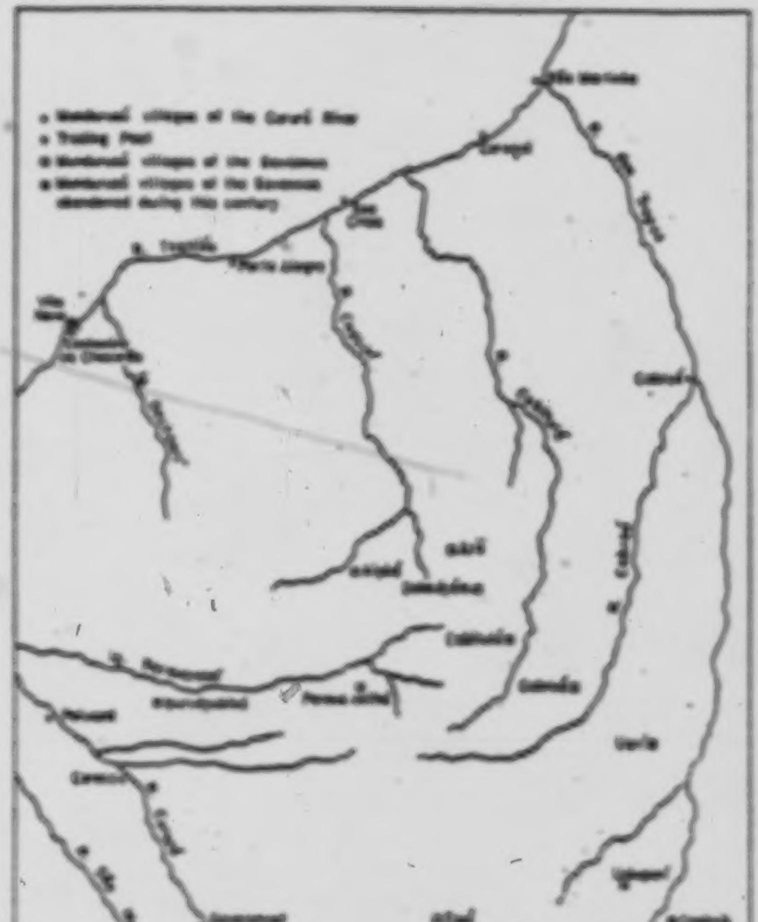

Mundurucú villages of the Cururú River
Trading Post
Mundurucú villages of the Savannah
Mundurucú villages of the Savannah abandoned during this century

Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P- 14

meters, but during July in the same period an average of 132
only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May.

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess [291]
such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and
awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire [513]
beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.).

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, 101
but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by roy- 648
alty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them,

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupi-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxim rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 753
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for 871
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants [212]
who read and write usually learned to do so in another area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods. These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers, often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the *barracões* (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are nearby, and others belong to people who live there during the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 648 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying [651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is [423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. [651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

911 439 648 The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

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[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 311
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 648
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with con-
siderable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 452 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons, who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

439 621 648 The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the company through the patron down to the rubber collector; and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

621 649 Within the broad social framework imposed by the river system, the local community consists of the patron and his dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy so- 621
cial contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in 648
cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently
called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter
depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations be-
tween patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill
and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to
extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The
patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his
client visits and to show generosity to the latter's chil-
dren, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client
is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to
be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit
community, for membership shifts frequently and the
daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family
isolation. The most important factor holding the commu-
nity together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion 314
of the community is generally caused by the extraction 621
economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the col-
lection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in
the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usu-
ally found on land flooded during the rainy season. Ac-
cess to the trees is along paths that wind through the for-
est from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer
has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation
every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree
and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has
accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The
trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas,
that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to
tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by 314
each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas 361
are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation
361 in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the
house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance
between houses of one mile, longer intervening
stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus
submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns
to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure
and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies
about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford
to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him
during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important
241 subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good
land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because
the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra
services in addition to a maximum production of rubber,
and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation.
621 Under these circumstances of great distance from his
511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring
complete individualization of production, the
bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are
weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse
[426] because he is usually held in debt servitude to the
trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic
development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is
the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being
progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears
have already been assimilated.

THE SETTING

METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

This study undertakes to analyze the processes of change in economy and social structure operative among the Mundurucú at the time of this investigation and in the past. I have chosen to focus my attention on the economic and social structural categories rather than on the broader range of interest of the usual acculturation study, for I feel that it is here that the causes of social and cultural change, in general, are to be found. I use the term "cause" advisedly, for I know that it has been used, and misused, in a variety of contexts. I shall avoid interpretations of a finalistic or teleological nature, and I shall similarly eschew the particularism inherent in the concept of immediate causes. I will rather concentrate my interest on the sufficient causes underlying the emergence of new, or modified, social forms. 121

So far as society is a system, an organization—and this is inherent in the definition of society—the direction and effect of changes in the system will be governed by its component parts and its over-all nature. In short, sufficient causality lies in large part within the social structure, and the dynamics of social change need not be sought completely outside the unit under study. From this point of view, external forces producing certain effects in one system may have different results in another. This must be kept in mind, for it is only in this way that we can arrive at general laws of social and cultural change: laws that will not only tell why something happens or exists in one instance, but why it does not in another.

The search for causes of change leads into functional analysis of the Mundurucú social system. If understanding of how a system changes is to be obtained, it is necessary

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal
during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history,
making the tribe an especially good subject for this type
124 of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older inform-
128 ants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old
people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was 124
born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections probably 128
date from his adolescence, his memories of things
seen and heard will be of value only for the time after
about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of
1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of
the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first
contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has
been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable,
within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard
that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods
for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the pristine.
And, fortunately, there is some highly useful documentary 127
history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a
smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is
possible to discern in the written records some of the
large-scale changes that have taken place in the society.
I have avoided the method, common in acculturation 121
studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal
and the present, and comparing the two. This
procedure may have some value when the transfer of items
of culture from one society to another through diffusion
is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the
continual interplay of the forces of stability and change
acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of 121
social change. It has been said that there are three socially 184
and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ
in degree of change—a differentiation that took place
only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration.
This study does not include the population of the
Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically
changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

121 184 nahs and the Cururú River. The differences between the savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

128 [127] I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú history, based on published sources and information given by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites [439] gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men.

[p. 27]

THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 648 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mundurucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça,* clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 648 439 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western culture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly uses the lure of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been 177
the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural 648
change in this part of South America. 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported 175
Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong at- 648
tacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth 131
century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of 175
a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Ta- [797]
pajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

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[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.

[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondrucí nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Curu-
rú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

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[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process 175
of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 648
Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú 797
hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." [9]
The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not,
however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable
distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the
west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by
another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already [177]
having gardens, some already using trousers, and the
women skirts, all of cotton." [10] There is no mention in the
sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's
house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did
not transfer the native community organization to their
new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post- 175
contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts 648
the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts." [11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 175
1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá 648
River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú 797
under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

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[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.

[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

175 sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding
648 forest. They were already conducting trade with the
[797] whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and guaraná and ap-
[459] parently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on
[131] the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

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[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the 175
Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity 648 in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken.

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries [182]
and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on
the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had [361]
recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16]
Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional [177] to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, 175
the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, 182
but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for 648
their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern
Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [161]

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[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 182 695 [161] 1889, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirim and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] [314] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of guaraná, sarsaparilla, and copaiba oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[38] Contact 175 between the two regions has completely terminated since 648 that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- 182 pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- [177] dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

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[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.

[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.

[20] Agassiz, 1868, p. 308.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.

[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made 582 complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- 648 mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- 175 tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- 648 jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

175 ence any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a
648 comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.[24] The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was probably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

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[24] Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[23] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurtacú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundury River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundury River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 648 721

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[23] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship.
[439] Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of guaraná and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income 175 as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early com- 439 merce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the 648 itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[36] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucús of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which [294] amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They [319] also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[37]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. [622] The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

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[36] Bates, 1863, p. 233.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

175 the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Ac-
439 counts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the
648 Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

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[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 148-154.

[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the es- 175
tablishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Ta- 439
pajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to 648
protect the Indians from the traders and is said by To-
cantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing 175
to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for 439
yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's 648
technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to 797
monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Ba- 175
cabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of com- 439
merce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós 648
and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client [466]
system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected
rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of [166]
people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

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[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year
at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illus-
trative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Ta-
pajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in
1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the
São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a
continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the
Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tribu-
taries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of
losing function, actually became more important, and for
some time the villages became politically more tightly in-
tegrated. The chief now had the additional position as
intermediary with the white man and as such was the
source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak
of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought every-
thing for the people." After the patrons became firmly es-
tablished and gained influence among the Indians, they
began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without
regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as
will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
900 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 168.

Second, warfare, for both mercenory
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.[38] The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because
it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages 175
in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society 648
as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service
had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 464
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary 648
returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting 221
did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type 131
villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

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[38] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

131 pajós,[27] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[28] Thus, by 1895 at
the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had
diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and
Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no
doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in
which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production
was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization.
They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites,
and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered
losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed
to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central
foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the
Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive
taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads.
It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men,
who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically
at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom collapsed,
439 with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased
in importance and yielded decidedly less return.
The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so
eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of
Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the
Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

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[27] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.

[28] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. 175 797 The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[30] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber.

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. [439] That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning

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[30] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

175 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the
797 mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose some-
175 what as a result of export restrictions imposed on the plant-
439 ers of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns
797 caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on
[361] its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to
grow up on the river banks. This population shift pro-
[166] ceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360
[162] Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

Of less importance in attracting a permanent popula-
175 tion to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the
439 Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Serv-
657 ice in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

175 439 657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects 175 166 361 on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. [177] [342] Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's 175 184 361 by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The 175 184 186 Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries [797] have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175 hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *pariwat*,
184 or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. How-
186 ever, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

The split within the tribe occurred only during the past
175 three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in mi-
184 gration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually
[166] to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

175 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1850.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites, were used by the latter as mercenary warriors in the battle to rid the central Amazon Valley of hostile Indians. The lucrative aspect of these wars no doubt attracted increasing numbers of Mundurucú into more immediate relations with the whites and induced the Indians to settle in the proximity of the Brazilians. Of even greater influence in stimulating migration to the Madeira waters were the manufactured goods offered by white traders and missionaries in return for *farinha* (coarse manioc flour), sarsaparilla, and guaraná. The same lure caused Mundurucú to settle on the lower Tapajós, below the rapids.

The Mundurucú who remained on the upper Tapajós were comparatively undisturbed during this period. They occasionally warred on behalf of the whites, and a sporadic trade, principally in farinha, existed between them and wandering traders, or regatões.

1850–1914.—After 1850, the Mundurucú of the lower Tapajós and Madeira regions became progressively assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. However, the emphasis in the Amazonian extraction economy was already shifting from farinha, guaraná, and sarsaparilla, the chief sources of wealth of the lower Madeira, to rubber. After about 1860–1870 the upper Tapajós became permanently inhabited by rubber tappers, and patrons acquired rights to rubber-producing regions. The Mundurucú of the savannahs became active rubber producers, and a gradual attenuation of warfare against other tribes began. Social integration was partly preserved by the practice of returning to the native villages after each rubber-tapping season, and the traditional way of life went on largely unaltered during most of the year. Also, the chief, whose importance in war was declining, maintained his prestige by acting as a middleman between his people and the trader.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 Throughout this period, there was a gradual drift of population from the villages to the main stream of the Tapajós where these migrants ultimately became assimilated.

After 1914.—In the period of 1912–1914, Mundurucú warfare ceased completely. This period also coincides roughly with the end of the Amazonian rubber boom. The Tapajós River lost part of its Brazilian population, and many Mundurucú withdrew from rubber production. In the late 1920's, a rise in the purchasing power of rubber brought increased participation of the Indians in rubber tapping. The demands of rubber production and the influence of the Cururú mission, established in 1911, caused a large-scale migration of people from the savannah villages nearest the Cururú to the banks of that river. These migrants did not establish villages of the traditional type, and the native culture there declined in general. Also, the remaining savannah dwellers, who are more inclined to preserve the old culture, have become estranged from their fellow Mundurucú of the Cururú.

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 360 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Arö, 90; Cabitutú, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipka, 50; Dekodyem, 50; Cauí, 25; and Parawaröktiká, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Cururú River. Cauí was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Cururú River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How- 131 162 361 184 361

184 361 ever, the people of the village still maintain trade relations and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campineiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most sporadic.

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES

121 Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and nonscholarly reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses [361] were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

22 [361] The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Although their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate environment. [439]

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and cooperation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist between the residents of each community, and all feel them- 619 621
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

224 Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunting and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajacu*), several species of deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

224 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [492] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crosses a stream. This calls for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt 224
other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved.

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this 177
regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has 224
greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power 411
of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life.

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the 226
subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger

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226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah
villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted
to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it
removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The
narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages
yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
177 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the
501 fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been
adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú
canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by
the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber
traders; before contact with the whites the only water
craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, how-
ever, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge
having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors,
the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only
to cross large streams when the Indians were on war
expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen
logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use,
but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the
savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on
large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá
owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
226 rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the
[182] fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they
feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season,
fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people
having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with
bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost im-
possible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their
lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

the rainy season to fish by wading through the *igapó*, 226
or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, [221]
represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish.

Dry-season fishing is done by two means. The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was intro- [177]
duced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless.

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Mundurucú use

226 the poisonous root of a shrub which is cultivated in their gardens.

A group timbó fishing expedition is usually organized and directed by the man who supplies the drug and issues the invitations; the invited participants help in the task of pulling up the roots. These are chopped into one-foot pieces and wrapped in bundles. Before dawn of the next day, or on the afternoon before if the chosen fishing site is distant, the party embarks. The best places to fish with timbó are in restricted bodies of water where the poison may attain greatest density and the fish have the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about thirty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance are preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party breaks up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of participating people. The men who are to poison the water go upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children wait for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then place their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and begin to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white poisonous sap to be exuded into the stream; they periodically dip the bundles to wash out the sap more thoroughly. The excited cries of those waiting downstream inform them that the poison is taking effect, and, when the drug has been thoroughly beaten out of the roots, they go downstrean to join the others in the collection of the fish.

The downstream scene is always pandemonium. Everybody is usually in the water trying to catch the fleeing fish, which are already semistupified by the drug. The women use handnets to scoop up the fish while the men impale them with fishing arrows or club them. At large timbó parties the water is poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the matrinchão (*Brycon brevicaudatus* Gunther), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day. 226

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one such venture on the Cururú River in which more than [179] one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days. [251]

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main 222

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the cajú tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it [481] home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, [177]
and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although
the potato is native in western South America it
was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable 311
and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly
used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids
essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is
that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy
annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however,
even in this rather uniform environment. Much land
is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically
inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered
savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mundurucú [829]
into the categories of black, red, and clay earth.
The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a
significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land
and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash,
melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with
uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize
can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of
soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the
list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in
certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucu build new villages [361] [166] every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another. 423 476 431 736

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure. 241 476 241 461 476

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 476 462 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid 252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of *farinha* (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from [412] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal *farinha* "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the tubers with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The [412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form [177] a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at one end from a roof beam of the farinha shed, and a long lever is passed through a loop at its lower end. One or two women sit on the end of the lever, stretching and compressing the tipiti, and much of the prussic-acid-bearing liquid is squeezed from the grated manioc. After being taken from the tipiti, the semi-dry mass is then passed through a basketry sieve in order to extract coarse lumps and fibers. The resultant damp flour is fashioned into thin cakes and baked on a copper griddle placed over a clay-walled furnace. Since prussic acid is highly volatile, the cooking process completes the extraction of the poison.

Farinha manufacture follows the same principles and many of the procedures of that of beijú. A type known as *farinha seca*, or dry manioc flour, is made by the same process as that followed in beijú, except that the grated and sifted mass is not made into cakes, but is spread out on the copper griddle and stirred with a paddle. The result is a toasted flour. When making farinha seca, the women often soak the grated manioc in basins of water and then squeeze it with their hands and drain it before placing it in the tipiti. This water, to which the liquid extracted by the tipiti is added, is allowed to stand for a day. The starch leached from the manioc settles to the bottom, and the water is then poured away. This starch is toasted on the griddle to make tapioca.

Because they conserve the starch, the most nutritious component of the tuber, farinha seca and beijú are the best manioc foods available. But expediency causes the starch-wasting process by which *farinha d'agua* (manioc flour from water) is made to be the one most commonly used today. In this procedure, the manioc is brought directly from the garden to a small stream, where it is placed in the water and allowed to soak until soft and pulpy. This generally takes three days in warm water and five days

252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipiti, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [177] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 462 between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in #462
hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of 476
men working in coördination.

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipiti; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the nominal work unit, and all women of
the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc process- 777
ing by all village women originated after contact with the #462
whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part 476
of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in
some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the [415]
large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce-

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population,
but because they are expensive and beyond the means of
most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah
villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[3]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the
gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly
subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is
especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open
competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely
nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[558] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and,
formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly
to outdo anybody; even t[illegible]ir play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-t[illegible]ame indulged in by the
young men, consisting of an attemp[illegible] by each of two op-

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[3] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation 477 the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons [526] and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider [521] even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community 423 as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered 422 the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and [431] if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if [-05] others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [431] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [426] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

[433] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [592] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 423 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [illegible] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

4

kinship and marriage

One of the major points of discontinuity between the 614 Mundurucú and other Tupian-speaking peoples lies in the [71] realm of social organization. The existence of exogamic unilineal descent groups was first reported by Mrs. Louis Agassiz, who visited the Mundurucú of the lower Madeira waters in 1865 and wrote: "The tribe is divided into certain orders or classes. . . . Marriage is forbidden . . . between members of the same order." [1] Farabee, who traveled on the Tapajós in 1915, confused the picture somewhat in his report that the Mundurucú were divided into two classes of "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs" that intermarried.[2] The actual situation was clarified in a paper written by Albert Kruse, O.F.M.,[3] one of the priests of the Cururú

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[1] Agassiz, 1868, p. 320.
[2] Farabee, 1917, p. 137.
[3] Kruse, 1934.

[p. 71]

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.* During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected, and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their recip- [578] rocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *ibotaiwatit* of certain clans of the opposite. [764] This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely 616 symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding 727 still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

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* Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 721
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. 616 The members of the *Biadi anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubõ*; this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubõ of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubõ of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
773 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[8] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *diuat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Parawatdiuat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
61? contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the
[565] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

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[8] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56-57.

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karökö*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (*tobit*) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karökö ipasit*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose *tobit* resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses. 614 534 778 [776]

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabrua were made by a man of the Waré clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Iko* and *Bapsem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabrua moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a Waré, *Iko*, or *Bapsem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabrua, but such an event would be accidental. We are then confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in [615] [592]

12:Murphy K-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 534 779 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karöko, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karöko and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the Witaram, Wakó, and *Karó* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called waréwap, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as uchaien, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karó* subclan, *Kabá*, *Ará*, *Yurí*, and *Ipi* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ipi* are linked by common recognition of apai, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karó* subclan and *Ará* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarikpikpikpika, a bird; *Kabá* and *Ará* are affiliated through

kowiñ, a tree; and *Ará* and *Yurí* find a bond in *tikinip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the Saw clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans. 614 615 776 614 615 553

The *Kirixi* clan of the White moiety and the *Warú*, *Saw*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kukawesat*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Those of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species. [778]

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so, 614 174 615

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then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have undergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

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The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Patrilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an expanding population, which causes lineages to break off and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is 121
also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related 174
males who are subjected to a common pressure to 591
seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a 614
unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to 174
an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] 591
Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system 614
of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is
found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms [583]
were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably
returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted [596]
that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

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[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.

[7] Smith, 1903, p. 299.

[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.

[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343-344.

[10] Titiev, 1943.

[11] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[illegible] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[illegible] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

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[illegible] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[illegible] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 packs [3.12 liters each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Mauhé 1500 and those of the Canomá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1820 the Mundurucús of the Canomá collected and brought to market 500 arrobas [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundurucús among the whites is to be expected."

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of
diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of
mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered so-
cial system resulting from matrilocality, however, main-
tained the household group of sisters and their daughters
and provided for the continuity of a female work group
bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members
were reared. The new-type household was thus better
suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[10]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and pat-
rilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The
clans may have been completely localized; they surely had
large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on
resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these
local groups; these lineages became subclans and ulti-
mately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation
with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

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[10] Eggan (1950, p. 121) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 174 562 614 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in particular, that extended families increasingly sought to keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society, 105 174 614 and its further consequences will be developed in the course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe 614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

614 [531] the opposite moiety within the framework of the ibaiwatit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geometric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clansmen sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside in the village.

551 614 [849] Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every other through the naming system. The name of each Mundurucú consists of his clan name with a given name suffixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers, some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of membership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union between a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand, the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, *tun* (excrement).

614 Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on its members and to establish their inclusion as "people," or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mundurucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of
[619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

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622 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

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768 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important inheritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

often wanders from village to village, hanging his hammock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups. 584

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an economic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both mythology and real life abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce. 585 586

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in- 587

58/ dependence from each other that is not conducive to mar-
ital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty,
and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it
586 more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own
initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the
father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man
either returns to his native village or wanders in search of
another wife.

17/ That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends pri-
58/ marily upon the growth of affective bonds between the
61/ mates and a common interest in their children gives us a
certain insight into the workings of the social system.
There has recently been some discussion on the relation of
marital stability to mode of descent and types of social
unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected
African societies.[18] These have shown that marriage tends
to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal
groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced
when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her
husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just
because they do not conform typologically to the African
59/ examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matri-
58/ local and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive
unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties
are to her household, the husband's remain with the rela-
tives of his natal household. The husband initially has no
deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no
strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties
with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approx-
[71] imate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception
that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal
societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing
rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

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[18] Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's 581 household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no 591 matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explicate more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when 684 the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adul- 837 terous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mun- 578 durucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a cer- 837 tain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

579 837 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[illegible]

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

582 616 The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[illegible] Murphy, 1958.

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relation; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach. 585 [586]

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate[illegible] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when patrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviratic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above. 582 616 587 [626]

[illegible] Martius, 1867, p. [illegible]

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

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Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[illegible] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[illegible] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[illegible] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[illegible] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mundurucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle. [835]

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Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[illegible] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

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[illegible] See pp. 83-84.

[illegible] Kirchhoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[illegible] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[illegible] Martius, 1867, p. 392.

[illegible] Watson, 1952, pp. 118-121.

reasoning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 178 582 604 591

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo between co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[illegible] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[illegible] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[illegible] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 178 582 604 835

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[illegible] Cf. Titiev, 1943, p. 518.

[illegible] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.

[illegible] White, 1948, p. 33.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Vocative

601

adjat	father's father; mother's father
auuh	father's mother
adjong	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father; father's brother
ai i	mother; mother's sister
uarupti	mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins
o kit	sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins
da ú	sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter
u aum	brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety
bekit	son; brother's son
aatpi	son; brother's son
tapti	daughter's and son's son

Referential

adjat *djat*	father's father; mother's father
auuh uuh	father's mother
adjong *djong*	mother's mother; father's sister
uw *bai*	father
bai bai	father, father's brother
u *ki*	mother
ai i	mother, mother's sister
o djoré	mother's brother; father's sister's son
uarupti pii	older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
o kit pii	younger brother
o kit kit	younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son

uw bit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601
do ó ó father's sister's daughter
uw it mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pit son; brother's son
o ra bit daughter; brother's daughter
raleopabit grandchildren (all categories)

582 601 [711]

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.* It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjong*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *uw it*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

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* Wagley and Galvão, 1946.

582
601 further the brother's wife as we *B* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term we *B* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.* Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservation of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

The method of analysis employed above seems to be in
114 violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are
582 likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only
601 "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."* It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all these practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally intervoluted, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

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* Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 31.

* Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."* 114 592 601

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.* Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as we ê follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djovit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjong*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety. 601 616 [591]

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjat*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*uasi pë*) or "younger (*o kït*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekït*) and "grandsons" (*taçit*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjong*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ê*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjat*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*taçit*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

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* Ibid., p. 120.

* Cf. Chang, 1952, pp. 44, 50; Gillin, 1936, pp. 90-98.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

601 "elder" (uompé) and "younger (o kit) brothers," with the
616 exception of age mates, who are called (u nun). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (ouoh), "mother" (ai i), and "daughter" (da é), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.

5

the local group

The village is the locus of economic and social life among the Mundurucú of the savannahs. Remoteness from larger streams makes these communities rather isolated in today's economic and social setting, but their positions on open, grass-covered hills fitted them ideally for purposes of defense in earlier times. The men still prefer savannah life because insects are lacking and the country is considered beautiful. But of greater importance, it is strongly felt that the proper place for a "true" Mundurucú village is in this locale. As will be shown in the next chapter, the conditions of migration have imposed overwhelming economic and social obstacles to the transplanting of traditional Mundurucú communities to the banks of the Cururú River and other larger streams, but these inhibiting factors have been supported by the deep conviction 361 [621]

361 [[illegible]] that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

342 [361] Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *eksa*. The former have rectangular groundplans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauari* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The
345 men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities,
487 except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 361 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 592 621 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

THE LOCAL GROUP

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization 562 of male and female social activity is separately treated. 345 The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development 575 of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally [794] the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference 114 with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated 345 the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of 575 village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

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[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
595 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceed-
ing from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú
social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

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[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562
the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591
but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621
household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476
to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591
discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621
mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562]
up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although
621 this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man
may join in a communal chase with all other men or with
only a few of his choice, who may be from any household.
In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference,
[606] and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but
there are few occasions on which the men of the house
act as a unit under central direction. This extends even
to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a
new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax
593 there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation
of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly,
with her household; it also sees the growth of the
husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But
most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and
the locus of his political and economic activity remains in
its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship
between men's house and dwelling will become
clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping
513 arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full
length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports
form the stays from which two rows of hammocks
are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the
south row, those of the White in the north. Individual
clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition
in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang
their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward
part of the *eksá* whatever their lineal affiliations.
This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made,
and each man interacts with every other man to a greater
extent within its precincts than if the village were organized
strictly along extended family lines. The men generally
take their first meal of the day in the men's house,
shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for
the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave
their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return
from the stream to the men's house and there relax in
their hammocks until all have returned and the evening
repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making
baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food
is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to
the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal.
A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all [264]
gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first,
and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening [521]
meal, the occupants of the *eksá* lie in their hammocks and
converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends 476
the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior
in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part
in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect
reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior
183 may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 621 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá
345 only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
778 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely
534 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

534
had walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of 778
the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö [565]
spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must 534
"feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening 778
meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the 782
men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between [illegible]
clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and [illegible]
each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The 534
karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing 562
and maintaining the social roles considered proper to 773
either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no 778
sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

537 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The
latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the
flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And
throughout the night the women left their hammocks in
the *eksá* and went to the dwelling houses, where they
forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires,
just as the men do to the women today. The women could
not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the
trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relin-
quish them to the men. Since that time, the men have
jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of
the females, lest they again assume dominance.

537 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember
[608] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly
symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis. [illegible] [illegible] 578 831

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls. [illegible] [illegible] 689 [688]

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at 562 578 571

562 578 571 [104] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah women commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans 182 534 779 562 but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the women in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal 592
hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwell- 592
ing house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal
status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 591
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

591/ 611 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineality, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the 591/ 178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much 596 592 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the [422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to [224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

among the members of the house. This collectivism may 596
be seen in the fact that each household has but one fire- 592
place, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire ex- [254]
tended family, including the portion to be contributed to
the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done
by any woman who happen to be in the house at that time.
Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women [312]
and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in 476
distribution and consumption applies also to the organiza- 462
tion of production. Although gardens are nominally con- 596
sidered to be the property of the man who chose the site [423]
and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is
generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other
women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended
family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather
minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited
meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the
household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships be- 224
tween households also. When a hunter kills a large game 431
animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and 476
equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is
rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in
a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if
the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, fre-
quently only one or two men raise and kill game during a
day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual eco-
nomic security aspect. But beyond these considerations,
it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man
from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still
quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in
such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious
breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in 431

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.

574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 432
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 579
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú prin- [63]
ciple that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
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571/ 579, 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [illegible] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

Hostility between the women generally takes the form 521/ 578 of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [165] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged 521
or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. 578
These events provide the grist for conversation for
weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities 162
are subjected to an extra, situational strain because 578
of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of
Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and
eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted
a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced [537]
many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to
leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is
promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the
structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* [166]
sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages,
marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern.
But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing
areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result
is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a
dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife
among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured
by the support given by the matrilocal extended
family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the 594
savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber
season, when village and extended family break up to
exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine
months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear
family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents
it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy
and from being even a co-resident group. And the [462]
thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers
the nuclear family from any primary responsibility
in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the ~~gardens~~ for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is
almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible
for providing his own family with those necessities of
life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and
buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other
members of the extended family, especially unmarried
women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's
primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own
wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber
production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing
the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise,
the organization of village and household activities and
the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great
deal of affection and attention on their offspring. However,
[855] children are frequently placed in the care of the
mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the
household when the mother is busy or out of the village.
The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and
may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú anticipate
858 their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in
the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby
tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They
accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their
houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy
of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably
they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest
freedom. They wander from house to house and play in
the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared 562
to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen
or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and
shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is
not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent
membership, and strong ties and obligations to
the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and
coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help
in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural 857
factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden
clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush
during the latter operation, but the performance of such
duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of
the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as
hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild
fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds
from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may
spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to
shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally
in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years
he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will
stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in
which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest
ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the
[882] occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his primary
association to be with the men of the village, as a
whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without village
621 endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social
structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are accorded
[756] considerable standing, and any man who is serious
in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional
knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable confusion
554 surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship
because of historical changes in methods of selection and

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants 554
said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from 622
their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status. 178

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village 578
chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally 554
respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously 622
feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

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554 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of
578 certain disruptive features.

622 First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on
178 behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth cen-
439 tury the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his
554 traditional powers and some became well-known figures in
622 the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in impor-
578 tance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter
178 by what means he was selected, continued; his extended
578 family remained the largest such unit in the village and,
622 more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate 178
succession and divested of the attributes that commanded 578
greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus be- 622
came a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contem-
porary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá
and Cabitutú. Until two years before my investigation, an
old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had
been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy
the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by
a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the vil-
lagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted
Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not
aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When
the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legiti-
mately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from
Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the va-
cancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had
been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unas-
sertive, retiring, coöperative, and nonaggressive Mun- [183]
durucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim
to be "the only one in Cabitutú who knows how to tell the
people to work and who can deal with the trader." The
villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a
shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and re-
garded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They
were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of re-
spect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi
would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú
assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

178 578 622 they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Coöperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú. 178 578 622

439 433 622 452 182 Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

622 The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

6

social solidarity and social fission

Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political
619 [621] unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making
body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves
to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji*
[101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people,"
and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú.
All the "people" consider themselves to be related,
and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship
system. All, however, are expected to show coöpera-
[189] tion and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face
of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá
[648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in
former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

SOLIDARITY AND FISSON

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic 619
matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated
into the society and are said to have remained loyal even [727]
in wars against the villages where they were born. The
unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic
and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members
was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elab-
orate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was [304]
the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, 621
but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two com- 476
munities might coöperate. But a number of villages usu- 619
ally participated in war expeditions and the major cere-
monies. These occasions provided the opportunity for
scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse
residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, be- 721
cause it called for a high degree of organization and co- 619
operation. When the initiative was taken by the men of
one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a
member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of [701]
particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other [575]
communities and extend invitations to take part in the
hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village ac-
cepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to
protect the women, children, and old people and to con-
tinue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus intervil-
lage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable
war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses
of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within 602
the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 628
619

602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

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[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.

[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression 121
that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter.

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, can- 578
not range along such simple segmental lines. The mem- 571
berships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; 628
in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of

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[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240-244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of feud.

571 578 628 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antagonisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers. [683]

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, ag-
gression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony
and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society.
The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mun-
durucú informants and practically impossible to learn of
the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer
receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but
prolonged residence in any community reveals severe
grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these
tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among
themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of
solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely
vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion
is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for
emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage re- [628]
lations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not
by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to
the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the
latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the tra-
ditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries be-
tween "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activ- 771
ity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

771 structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of sha- [162] manism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued [773] masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were 771 either human or had human form in mythological times, 776 and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

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[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are 782
now practiced, but in former times there were many. 796
Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but
few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game"
to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important
ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called
the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mun-
durucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were al-
most identical but for duration; the former was said to
have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the
latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were
honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered
a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance
was not mandatory, but either the long or the short fes-
tival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated
the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several
communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans
were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be re-
cruited from many villages, for only they could ward off
the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual
food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy 796
heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with [727]
the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal cere-
monies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The 182
last Araiaraï was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter 756
Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú ex- 796
plain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the
contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some
merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to
the Cururú River, and general loss of population have
greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the
savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon them-
selves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and
knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of
the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[226] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily
on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion."[*] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial
[869] means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

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[*] Durkheim, 1947.

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mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, 756
however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. [754]
This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural [428]
powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. 75
Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and 754
great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

754 [683] The shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique for displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct
[578] ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility.

Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with
683 the consensus of nearly all members of the community.
754 Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, 683
reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced 754
village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery
accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders,
this may constitute a significant bloc within the community
under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the 683
number of shamans. This not only includes people who 754
were actually executed, but also those who escaped or 756
who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability
of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that
sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the
shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings
in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay,
but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the
chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving
two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to
move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and
the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced
with the unhappy prospect of being the only available
scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing
shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the
services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship 182
to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and 771
practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and
values of the society at large and which were best staged
by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains
are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing
fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic
in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline 182
of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of 628
Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. 796
Fellow clan members are no longer united by

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São 314
Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in 439
three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most 648
powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger [361]
men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect 221
less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the 344
the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to re-
turn to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their [241]
garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects 314
the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray 461
game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision 512
in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home.
He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or
bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small
shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent
river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow
and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit 572
his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is 224
joined by the other men of the house if there are any;
otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting
techniques cannot be employed. This and the
general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make
lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease
in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by [226]
individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample
for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a
solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing
more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens 241
near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely [592]
do so because they do not have enough workers to clear
forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh
the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting
them. The resident families have a local supply of
farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the
village and transported to the rubber avenue; a difficult
chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country [134]
is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost
every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this
favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá.
These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite
these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is
sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either
rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence
in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result
462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small,
the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture
of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help
in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a
man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or
younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done
jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing
expeditions are infrequent because the people are
so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is,
314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially
individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and
[592] their families share the same residence, each man has his
own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's
work is done.

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571 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households
476 during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the
changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation
[594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear
family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas
River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode
[487] of transportation and communication is by trails that
parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make
visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence
groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the
423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production
and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private
property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept 423
of land or territorial private property is implied. Also,
a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and
absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it
may be worked by another after the former owner's permission
is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it
passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or [428]
dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by
the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial
transaction. But despite this, they form the only
type of natural resource subject to private ownership in
this society. This fact gains increasing social importance [182]
in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the
returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases,
so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by 657
the government for their use. The traders do not have any 648
right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in 439
the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an 472
independent producer, working on his own property as a
free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system
of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails
in the Amazon has been extended to the native population,
and the market is not an open one. That the Indian
cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that
he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat
more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. 439
The tie is sometimes conceived of as between 466
the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the 648
instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a
bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of
these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

439 466 648 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who gives valued objects and who must be given something in return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 609 648 The client-patron relationship applies also to that between the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mundurucú, 123 I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 648 484 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savannahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes 439
one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys 648
have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and [484]
secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a 437
source of continual aggravation to the traders, although 439
they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. 648
Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú
society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged
simply through the insistence of the questioner. [773]
Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177/648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the 177
Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with 648
the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the co- 182
hesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be 182
conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of 185
the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become 621
almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

182 especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In
185 times long past, the alternatives to village life were priva-
621 tion and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

182 The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the
621 rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams.
[361] That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 360 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

182 The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in
476 production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend
621 on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making
[461] and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

them through its combined purchasing power and its mem- 182
bers have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies 476
the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion 182
is provided by the core of related resident females. And 592
although the men of the household are marginal partici- 562
pants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, [602]
which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as ex- 182
tremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease 578
with which new residents or visitors are integrated into [621]
them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

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The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 574
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182 578 754 683 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 578 [837] Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the [622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 591 596 [578] Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

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[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah 182
marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a 591
pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, 596
ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. 182
The nuclear family has gained greater importance because 602
it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the 614
extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the [594]
rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic [596]
social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182

The most important force in the process of stripping the 439

182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emigration is easy. [166] The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens [241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 166 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together. 182 476 621 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and 182
solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be 476
bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, 621
and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting 182 166
the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi- 361
isolated and economically independent units. When the 621
now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

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the mundurucú of the cururú river

The Cururú River was permanently settled by the
167 Mundurucú in the 1920's and 1930's through much the
164 same processes that are observable today along the Cadirirí,
361 Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial bonds were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

[p. 154]

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savan- 167
nah communities were much alike and, except for differing 184
places of dry-season residence, the populations of all main- 361
tained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, [628]
and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the 167
migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly 797
rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal 167
fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear 361
families or segments of extended families shifted and not 178
whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade
goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought [797]
thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

167 361 178 and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the 182 361 621 people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water 501 439 transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the 439 501
mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special 177
order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mun- 342
durucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had 361
a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other 182
changes in village organization. Since the first permanent 476
settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three 571
nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the 178
old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

000 crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

182 As the migration continued and the villages grew in
178 size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased
224 use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds
[476] of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was,
[226] comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

178 A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which
182 requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a
462 day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a
[226] good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178
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An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew 462
out of these necessary changes. As other households were
established in the growing villages, they too fell into the
same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size,
had become established as the basic unit in the production
and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer [592]
had a very close blood tie with an established household
and could thus be included in its economic arrangements,
he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting
of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment
found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and
reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the
Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in
this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new
work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with
the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status [562]
in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works
less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to
return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between
the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables
her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah
woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female
economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the
proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds
ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the
whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and [177]
other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is
seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social
change. 178

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 182
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178 durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's
182 house. The male organization has meaning primarily in
345 terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and
[562] in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance.
These have been drastically altered, and the men's house
would have no function in the new social structure. Sim-
178 ilarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have
182 never been observed on the Cururú, because the major
796 festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the
men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence
361 on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú in-
184 formant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy
season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens.
[439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and
accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú
439 are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders,
648 although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only
does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and 177 461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than [562] [556] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and [581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the 439 797 648 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater [177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In- [437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are
times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [529]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands,
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their [594]

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule, [591]
but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily
439 engaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In
461 contrast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cururú, even the man who has a separate dry-season residence has direct access to his village by canoe. 439 461

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for several years maintained an average figure of 700. This includes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mission and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rubber while the others work for the two agencies as gardeners, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settlements are in no way autonomous villages, and all general economic and political direction is provided by the Indian agent and the priests. 162 361 [221]

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

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[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding
the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less
than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the
cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted
with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive
tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting
the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the
largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers
from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to
move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half
mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered
by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually.
There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east,
[312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy
season and water must be taken from the intervening
flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region
of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest.
[311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture,
and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village,
nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage
[136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects
that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively
insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages,
grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location
except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one
[342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the
[177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical
wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house
has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal
[343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds
[177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are
a distinctively Brazilian trait.

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú. 361 [343] [487]

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall. 592 [594]

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses. [602] [476] [476]

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226 Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing,
[224] unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The
[797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the
476 residents of one household, whether it represents one or
[462] three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the
252 copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc,
422 the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several
[343] aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the
[476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered 422
to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased 415
through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of
farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a
hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous
steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. 623
The informal council of elders that operated in the
context of the men's house is no longer present, and the
importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest
has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber
trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily 622
to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded 554
some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief
takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite
his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost
nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family,
which is the largest kin group in the village and includes
sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to
keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents
a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the
ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although
the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão
Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many
residents. When informants were asked about the duties
and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today
'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real
chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of
Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

622 ironical in their replies to the question of how José
554 achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask
182 the priests," or, "Only José knows."

This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less in-
554 dicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his
578 family and the mission, which José is considered to rep-
622 resent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs
797 persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the
priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 Shamanism is the only element of the native religion
that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians
[758] seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this
[753] has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural caus- 756
ation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are con- [753]
sidered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is
the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional [754]
killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha 754
was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to 756
call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a 159
great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons 754
to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all 756
Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, 578
without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

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supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, 159
the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the 578
residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote 754
to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, 756
but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú
hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of
course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow- [683]
villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

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578 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of
754 these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by
756 the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and
571 the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction
in the former. It has been pointed out that the household,
[592] most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a
[574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the
578 schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative 182
isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the 578
Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not
all fission arises from factional splits such as that described.
Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the
move from one village to another or to permanent residence [166]
in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal
conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are 162
scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah 184
villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow 578
but continuous emigration of the more mobile young 182
males, which results in hostility and competition between
the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on
the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have
drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female
ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs
to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent
years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself.
At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead
to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long
concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are [837]
common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried
girls to make female adultery less frequent and
competition over women less intense. Correspondingly,
there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs
caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and 182
sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land 578
near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. 311
When one's village house gets old it is often more 166
convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber
avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to
buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively [594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their 182
creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire 621
for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of
solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú 177
social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation 182
with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the 439
ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

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the changing social system

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This study has analyzed how Mundurucú society operates to wrest a livelihood from its environment and the connected problem of personal and group relationships. In its focus on Mundurucú social structure and the processes by which this system becomes realized in action to form a coherent way of life, it has been a functional study. But unlike most functional studies, it has been plotted on the coördinate of social time in addition to that of social space. The Mundurucú social system has undergone major transformations, and it is impossible to understand fully what it *is* until some understanding is achieved of what it *was*, at least in its key institutions. And it is further necessary to consider the dynamics of the change, because the processes are still continuing. The student who would consider his data only from the point of view of the contribution of

the elements of a society to its stability would miss the 121
major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of 182
action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise.

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that con- 177
tinuing and patterned relations have been established with
another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of 182
institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself, Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in

177 182 amount, and the native social structure was directly affected.

121 182 That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 182 61 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into history the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

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[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system 174 182
accommodated increased numbers through fission and the 61
multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú 174
society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential 582
forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the 591
sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the [616]
offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites 174
and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, 177
it has been hypothesized, set in motion a farreaching 182
series of modifications in Mundurucú social 439
structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium
on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized [462]
work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and
retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished [591]
through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture 174
"caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same 182
proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was 241
to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group 591
in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

174 the former because the history of a change to matrilocality
182 accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is
241 documented. If no such historical information were available,
591 one would probably state the generalization in the
latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But
the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the
functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated
earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally
interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a
field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is
manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal
society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality
that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and
114 patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development
121 of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model
591 of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit
611 possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions,
he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment
423 of such rights on the members of the units. I share
Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there
were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of
productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages
no doubt were significant coöperative units in production,
and collective units in consumption, and had important
political functions; but their only corporate proprietary
rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male
was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic
resources in which he had a vested interest, nor
with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the
passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible
121 inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The
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[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

structure of authority must have followed closely along 121
lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the 591
new conditions, the man was not only assigned to perma- 182
nent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the
life of the household was correspondingly eased. 611

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access 182
to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house or- 591
ganization are important to an understanding of the [423]
change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

182 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence
591 may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to in-
611 creased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied coöperating, interact-
[614] ing groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social
182 structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors be-
794 came a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

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[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion 182
about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great
effect on the whole system of behavior expected between 182
various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it im- 591
possible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality 602
in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded
each role player with a totally different array of comple-
mentary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred
in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, how-
ever, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages [582]
were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has re-
sulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mun-
durucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin
marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests
that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function
as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú 182
matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system 578
to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The pre- 591
vious situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropo-
logical findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peo-
ples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect
that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually
contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-
cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-
equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the
development of open factions, because factional conflict
would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Seg-
ments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity
and to define their boundaries through opposition to other
segments, except by the destruction of other modes of
group organization. This lack of what has been called in-
ternal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the

182 578 591 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

182 The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 182 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to 174 the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy 182 of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly [177] spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes 174 177 in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day 182 savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of [754] sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social [683] setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only
182 causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mun-
648 durucú society. Forces external to the society merit con-
439 sideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the coöperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

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The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

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182 primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market
439 to the Indians in a personalized and understandable
648 idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor
182 in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and
439 movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The
591 returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of
the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more
important, different commodities have been sought in the
Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that
has gone into their production has accordingly changed.
This has impinged not only on the division and organization
of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules,
transformed the framework of every-day social relationships,
and changed in size and constitution the basic
groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent
182 one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality
591 to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second
in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation
of larger village and familial units. Murdock[4] is fully
[114] corroborated in his observation that social organizations
are most easily modified through a modification of the rule
of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant
factors in social change. The rule of residence, in
turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological
adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups
is conditioned by their functions as units of production
and consumption.

114 The transformations of the Mundurucú social system
121 can best be understood in terms of its structured relations
171 with other social systems and the immediate means, technical
182 and social, by which selected resources are exploited.
That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social 114
and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological 121
adaptation and types of relationship between social sys- 171
tems as constants. This is a different common denominator 182
than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[5] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[6] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study 114
of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given
little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of 177
Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "accultura- 121
tion" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

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[5] Eggan, 1954.

[6] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

114 the central problem of this work. It might be asked
177 whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation
studies would have elucidated or confused some
121 of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could
the development of matrilocality have been understood in
these terms? Or could the fact that family organization
among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging
with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the
region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate
[797] German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged
the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this
also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the
Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also,
it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of
dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant
because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between
the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak
alienation from the past. But were not these barriers
already shattered and was not the major part of the population
already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which
121 people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems
for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons
caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity
to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way
of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how
have cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change."
The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established between groups.[7] Since this comprehends everything, it might be asked how this differs from simple "culture change." It would appear that the difficulties of the seminar on acculturation derive primarily from the fact that they have no general theory of social and cultural change nor do they distinguish the two processes. It is for this reason that "acculturation" has been looked upon as a special set of processes despite the fact that examples of groups that have no "conjunctive relations" with other groups are hard to find. It is manifest in the statement of the Social Science Research Council seminar[8] that: "The change that is induced by contact therefore does not represent a shift from a static to an active state but rather *a shift from one sort of change to another.*" Granting the sudden and dramatic effects of the Gatling gun and the Indian reservation, this assumption defeats theory. If we are ever to formulate general laws of social and cultural change, we must rid ourselves of the notion of situational uniqueness. The latter may have operational utility for the traditional historian, but certainly has none for the generalizing social scientist.

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[7] Social Science Research Council, 1954.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 948 (italics mine).

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